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## Feeding the 12,000

TIBETANS STILL ARRIVING IN INDIA

From James E. Bristol

The writer is Director of the Quaker Centre in Delhi, India, and a representative of the American Friends Service Committee.

WITH 12,000 Tibetan refugees crossing the frontier, an Indian Central Relief Committee for Tibetans has been set up under the direction of the Indian scholar and Gandhian worker Acharya Kripalani and his wife Sucheta.

From an office at 25 Ferozeshan Road, New Delhi, they have appealed for food, clothing, shoes, medical supplies, soap, oils, blankets, kitchen equipment, lamps, lanterns and fire-fighting equipment.

The last item is needed because the accommodation for the refugees is built of thatch and bamboo with kitchens included.

They hope that many of the needs listed above will come from foreign countries, but warn that Western shoes and clothing will not be acceptable to Tibetans. They will need cotton clothing because their old clothes will be much too warm for the areas where the camps are situated.

The urgent need is for cloth from which the Tibetans can make their own clothing.

The Committee will welcome grants of money from abroad; they could use 10,000 dollars immediately. They do not wish to have foreign workers however since they are anxious not to bring the cold war into the refugee picture. Foreign doctors might be welcome at a later date.

Indian volunteers have already been provided by the National Christian Council and the YMCA and there is a Methodist hospital in the vicinity of one of the camps which already has an American doctor stationed there; he has volunteered his services and they have been accepted.

### Passes closed

Just before they left Delhi on May 12 to arrange the setting up of branch offices in Bombay and Madras (one has already been set up in Calcutta) the Kripalanis told me that there was a camp for 8,000 at Tezpur, for 2,000 at Buxa, and a transit camp 26 miles from Tezpur. Sucheta Kripalani had just returned from a four-day visit to them.

As I write (May 13) the Tibetans are trickling through in small numbers, being forced now to use the less frequented mountain passes. The Chinese have closed off all the main passes, including the route by which the Dalai Lama escaped.

Even after they cross the border it is a twenty-day trek to the camp at Tezpur. A local committee is already working there.

The Kripalanis hope that the refugees can be organised to manage their own affairs and to care for many of their own needs. If this can be done, the Tibetans can serve at least in part as relief workers, thereby minimising the need for other workers and also helping to keep up the morale of the Tibetans.

The Central Committee is a non-governmental agency and represents all parties except the Communist Party. Acharya J. B. Kripalani was secretary-general of the Indian National Congress from 1936 to 1946 and was imprisoned nine times in the struggle for Indian freedom. Among his publications are The Gandhian Way and Non-Violent Revolution.

# DANGER: Fall-out at work

Peace News Reporter

"THE contamination of man's atmosphere and food by fall-out is increasing at a much faster rate than was expected two years ago. Should testing of nuclear weapons resume it will soon become a health hazard."

This, says the American journalist, I. F. Stone, who has made a special study of the subject, is the real lesson to be drawn from the recent hearings by the Radiation Sub-Committee of the US Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

His assessment has been borne out by new facts which became known last week-end.

In a report published last Saturday by the Atomic Ministry in Bonn it was stated that radio-activity in West German rainwater in January was 60 times the maximum permissible concentration for drinking water prescribed by the European atomic agency, Euratom. Water from the Rhine—from which drinking water is taken for German towns—was 1.7 times above the safety figure.

An official of the Ministry said that the findings "should not be dramatised." He added that he "would not recommend drinking" rainwater in which radio-activity was 60 times the safety figure.

These increases are thought to be a further example of the general increase in radio-active fall-out last winter caused mainly by exceptionally "dirty" Russian nuclear tests near the Arctic Circle last year.

In the Marshal Islands, some kind of abnormality is showing in 16 out of 43 species of plants growing on the three atolls most affected by fall-out after the 1954 Bikini H-bomb tests, according to a report published in "Nature" last Saturday.

### Strontium in milk

Another paper in "Nature" says that some plants take up more strontium from the soil than others. "It might prove desirable," therefore, if the world fall-out situation deteriorates, to restrict cows to an all-grass diet "to reduce the strontium 90 level in milk, particularly that consumed by children."

But military censorship may be hiding from the public a radio-active bomb debris danger greater than strontium 90, according to I. F. Stone's Weekly.

Discussing the radio-active debris of nuclear explosions, Dr. W. O. Caster, of Minnesota University, writes in the March-April issue of the Minnesota Chemist:

"Biochemically we know very little about most of these elements. . . Biologically the most dangerous elements among these may well be the unexpended fuel elements U (Uranium) and P (Plutonium). Detailed information on these is lacking—perhaps because it relates directly to bomb efficiencies."

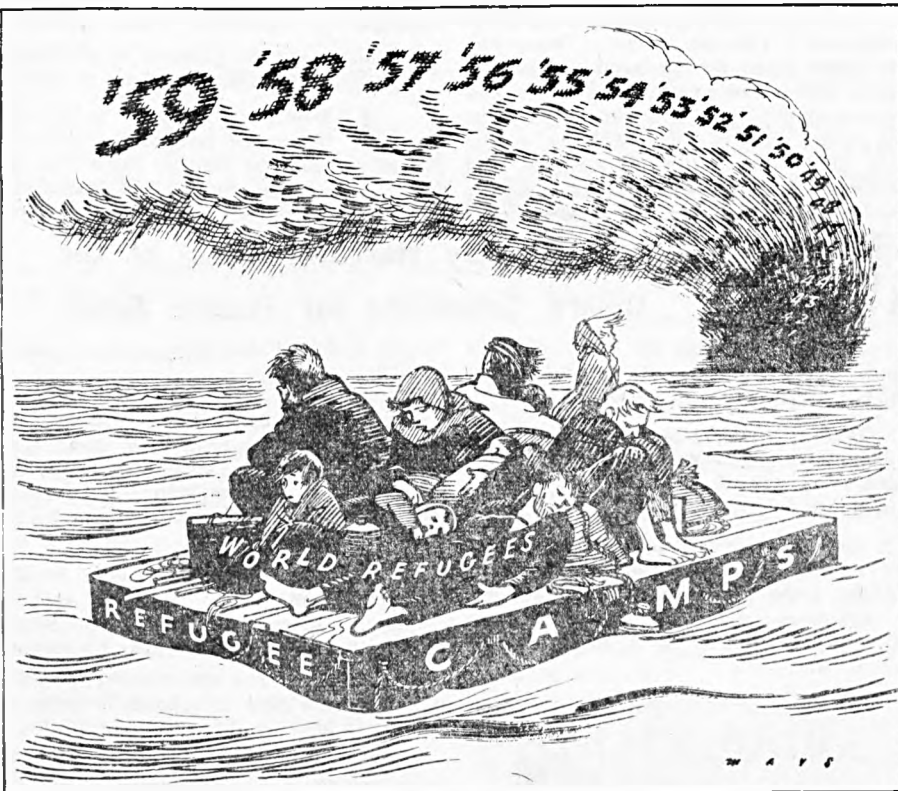
This suggests, says I. F. Stone, that data on unexpended uranium and plutonium in bomb debris is withheld because it would provide intelligence on the efficiency of the bomb exploded.

This is only one example of a series of evasions by official Government bodies in the United States on questions of nuclear testing. In three of his newsletters (May 4, 11 and 18) I. F. Stone has given a number of other examples.

### Misleading the public

In the Congressional hearings on the appointment of Admiral Lewis Strauss, the former head of the Atomic Energy Commission, as Secretary of Commerce, an American scientist described how Admiral Strauss has misled the public on the question of cleaner bombs. Mr. Hills said: "During a recent test series in the Pacific Mr. Strauss commented that the current test series was engaged in making 'cleaner' bombs. A few days later a colleague of mine at Los Alamos came to me and remarked 'At the very time that Mr. Strauss was making that statement I was engaged in experiments in the Pacific designed to increase the amount of poisonous fall-out from nuclear bombs.' Then he asked me with a sense of dismay in his voice, 'Why does Strauss have to volunteer such outright lies.'"

A report to the AEC said that strontium 90 in food and water "is less of a hazard than the amount of radium normally present in public drinking water supply in certain places in the United States, and in public use for many decades." "The certain places" were mainly Illinois. When I. F. Stone asked the AEC Press division what the studies there had found he was told that they were still in progress and no specific findings had yet been made.



Still no sign of the Promised Land.

## TWO MILLION REFUGEES A FORGOTTEN PROBLEM

THE wars and political upheavals of the last 20 years have left a continuing heritage of homeless, displaced persons. There are still some 2,000,000 refugees in the world, and millions more uprooted people who have not been entirely resettled.

Here is a rough estimate of the location of the world's refugees: 900,000 Arabs in the Middle East, 900,000 Chinese in Hong Kong, 161,000 Europeans in Europe, 120,000 Algerians in North Africa, 30,000 Indonesians in Holland, and 9,000 White Russians in Hong Kong.

In an effort to focus attention on the refugees' plight, the UN General

Assembly last year approved a World Refugee Year to begin on June 1, 1959.

While this vast problem cannot be solved within a year, two steps would help substantially:

1. Increased financial assistance to governmental and non-governmental agencies which are repatriating refugees on a voluntary basis, integrating them into their present country of asylum and resettling them in other countries.

2. Changed immigration policies which will permit more refugees to go to the United States and other countries.

### PN AND THE REFUGEES . . .

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## OVERCROWDED?

SINCE the end of the war Britain has given asylum to a quarter of a million refugees, but the Government have made it plain that because of the small and overcrowded nature of the country they must prohibit unrestricted immigration. . . There are some, however, who believe that a relaxation of this attitude could do much to help without any real inconvenience to the country and that such a lead by Britain would make all the difference to a favourable response from other reticent countries.—The Times, April 17, 1959.

## How some people live

This selection of density figures shows the population per square mile. In many cases this will include large areas of desert and mountains.

Hong Kong	6488	Ukraine	173
Guernsey	1500	China	116
Barbados	1487	Rep. of Ireland	111
Holland	809	U.S.A.	50
Eng. & Wales	753	Russia in Eur.	46
Japan	638	Sweden	41
W. Germany	520	S. Africa	27
E. Germany	418	Kenya	25
Denmark	269	New Zealand	21
Austria	204	Argentina	17
France	200	Australia	3

## Hong Kong means 'fragrant streams'

By JACK SHEPHERD

The writer has lived in Hong Kong as a journalist and radio producer for 10 years, during which he was closely associated with refugee relief work. His wife Janet worked for two years with the World Council of Churches Refugee Resettlement Office in Hong Kong. "She really knows much more than I do about the problem," says Jack Shepherd, "and these are thoughts we have arrived at out of our own experience." For six months they lived with refugees on a remote island. They are now resident Wardens at the Friends International Centre in London.

IN the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong to-day there are children of all ages up to 10 who have never known any other daily routine than going out to beg, or to forage for food in garbage buckets. They have always lived in packing-cases, or amongst drain-pipes. Men who were once in the professions, and sober citizens, are now idle loafers. People who were once idealists are now cynical, and will flirt with crime when necessary.

Yet the Government of Hong Kong has done more welfare and relief work than any other Government in world history, and has done it better. The situation is without parallel.

The habitable area of Hong Kong is about 50 square miles; and here live 3,000,000 people. Most of the space is taken up by a tiny minority of the comfortably-off (European and Chinese). The poor majority have to pile up in the odd corners.

It is now pointless to speculate on what constitutes a Chinese refugee. Those who left China when the Government changed did so with a vast mixture of motives, and scrutiny at this point only clouds the issue. The issue now is this: what is to be done about cleaning away a moral and economic plague spot, one that hardly

responds to enormous relief efforts?

We might see the glimmer of an answer if we ponder the following facts of life:

1 While we continue to lay the blame for refugees on the conflict of systems we tend to think that the solution lies in the crushing of Communism.



Leslie Kirkley of Oxfam inspects a roof-top home in Hong Kong.

This is idle escapism. Hong Kong's corroding poverty is as much the blame of American propaganda which preached that it was intrinsically a good thing to flee from the Communists, and then left the Hong Kong Government to hold the baby.

2 Relief measures which are regarded as "cold-war effort" are worse than useless, they are sinister. This simple but unacceptable fact has largely vitiated the huge sums of American money spent in Hong Kong on refugees. It fails at its own game, and makes its beneficiaries not sympathisers but cynics.

3 Help which is calculated on the basis of our advantage is no solution (e.g., accepting as immigrants refugees who are within acceptable age-groups only, or only those of trades and professions we need) but only succeeds in supporting a delusion that we are doing something useful.

4 Each nation's idolatrous worship and preservation of its own standard of living (which we do not even dream of questioning) is the biggest hindrance to any solution of the refugee problem.

5 There is no virtue, nor usefulness, in sublimating our guilt by giving what we can spare for dole relief, while at the same time we are not willing, if necessary, to move over and make room.

6 The moral contagion, steadily breeding in camps of dispossessed people these 20 years, will prove to be as big a threat to world order as nuclear fallout.

7 Most refugees—especially those who do not rehabilitate themselves in a fairly short time—are in varying degrees problem children, and we cannot help them while our eyes are wet with sentimental tears.

8 Relief measures which are specifically Christian should remember that Christ achieved things out of his compassion, and in reckless love; and not as a result of political, economic or social calculations.

## OXFAM

A profile, by Margaret Tims, of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief

AMONGST the most active of British organisations co-operating in World Refugee Year is the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief.

The Committee was set up in 1942 by a small group of people in Oxford, amongst them Professor Gilbert Murray and Lady Mary Murray, who were concerned to alleviate the plight of starving children in German-occupied Greece. Out of these small beginnings has grown a world-wide organisation for the relief of suffering which is now distributing supplies at the rate of 600 tons a year and cash grants amounting to £100,000 annually to over 30 countries.

Like the other participating bodies, its aim during World Refugee Year will be to double its normal income. To this end the Committee was given great encouragement by the success of the broadcast appeal last Christmas by Lord Birkett, which raised nearly £50,000.

## Constant flow

What does the Committee do with all this money, and with the constant flow of goods received at its depots in London and many provincial centres?

Its original basis was "the relief of suffering arising out of war or any other cause, in any part of the world."

In recent years the needs of refugees have claimed priority, but help has also been given in emergencies due to floods, famines, earthquakes and typhoons. Oxfam, as it has come to be called, does not maintain its own relief workers, but channels aid through existing organisations working in the field, such as the Friends Service Council, Red Cross and Salvation Army.

No scheme is too large or too small to qualify for aid from Oxfam, which responds to need either as a result of a direct appeal or on its own initiative in following up reports received. For example, during the past year it was the only British society sending substantial help to Algerian refugees in Morocco and Tunisia, and grants totalling more than £50,000 were distributed through the Red Cross in these countries. It also gave a grant of £100 to a London teacher, who was thus able to set up a milk-feeding station during her month's holiday spent in Morocco.

Oxfam is associated in many people's minds with the picture of a Korean child which is featured in its advertisements.

There is a good reason for this, for the Committee has helped to finance the feeding every day of 5,500 destitute children in South Korea.

It has also met the cost of orphanages and an old people's home, and provided artificial limbs for some of the thousands of amputees, children and adults, who roamed the country as a result of the Korean war.



Clothing distribution in Hong Kong.

Another unique piece of work done by Oxfam is the provision of full-cream milk-powder, specially made by Glaxo, for Arab babies in the Middle East. The Committee has recently invested in a long-term plan to raise the health standards of children in the northern villages of Greece, by purchasing a stock of sheep with a better milk yield than the local goats and importing blackcurrant bushes to counteract blindness caused by vitamin deficiency. It is now considering ways of helping the Italian,

Danilo Dolci, in his fight against poverty in Sicily.

Oxfam is still very much an "Oxford" Committee, although it has a card-index of 200,000 supporters, four local committees and one overseas group in Southern Rhodesia. It receives help from students not only at Oxford, but also at Cambridge and Bristol.

These three universities hold weekly "bread and cheese lunches," sold at normal prices, and last term Bristol students sent over £100 to the Committee.

Recently an essay and drawing competition has been held in schools in order to interest children in the needs of refugees.

Peace News readers will be interested to know that the General Secretary of Oxfam, H. Leslie Kirkley, is a pacifist of long standing, as are several other members of the staff. The Committee has also employed a number of conscientious objectors, as a recognised alternative to military service.

The Manager of the Oxfam Gift Shop in Broad Street, however, had his first contact with refugees as an army officer in the Far East in 1947, and resolved that something must be done about them. In the past 10 years the annual turnover of the shop has increased from £250 to £16,000! Nothing is regarded as unsaleable, and gifts received have ranged from a caravan to a human skeleton; from scrap gold and silver alone over £7,000 has been raised in recent years.

## For millions

It will be clear from these examples, which are only a tiny fraction of its total undertakings, that Oxfam carries out its task of relief for the millions of sufferers from war, persecution and disaster with flexibility, imagination and a deep human concern. Although it has a staff of 25, in the past three years only 9.7 per cent. of its total income in cash and kind has gone on running expenses.

And Oxfam is only one of the 14 main organisations, with many other subsidiary bodies, which constitute the UK Committee for World Refugee Year. If all the others are working with equal drive and enthusiasm, the object of the campaign to settle the world's refugee problem—and there are still 25 million of them—in the coming year does not seem an impossible hope.

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# PEOPLE AND PLACES

## The Russian people

THE central bureau of statistics in Moscow released on May 9 the results of the first population census in Russia since 1939. The results make very interesting reading.

The population of the USSR has increased since before the war by over 18,000,000—and this despite the war and further purges. The total is now 208,826,000. (The figure for the USA on April 1 was 176,466,000.)

The most striking fact to emerge from the Russian census is that there are nearly 115,000,000 females but only 94,000,000 males. The reason for this is clearly shown in the age groups—up to the age of 32 there is an equal balance between the sexes.

Nearly 100,000,000 Russians now live in towns, as compared with 60,000,000 before the war, and since 25 cities now have a population of over 500,000, it is a fair guess that many Russians are being treated to the same sort of meaningless propaganda for Civil Defence that we endure in the West. Moscow is now over 5,000,000, but one bomb is still sufficient.

## Progress in desegregation

THE US Department of Health, Education and Welfare has reported on the "Progress of Public Education in the USA" during the academic year 1957-58.

It is an optimistic 30-page document which speaks of improvements and growth. Yet the feature of greatest interest and

## P.A.Y.E.—G.W.Y.S.

READY as they are to pay their fair share towards the provisions which benefit the whole community and establish essential social services, pacifists strongly object to any of their money being misused on what is the preparation to employ the methods of war however that may be disguised.

Unfortunately the arrangements made to collect income tax without consulting the taxpayer and before the taxable income has been received makes any refusal to pay all or part of the tax well-nigh impossible. In that dilemma one member has recently sent to the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund the same amount as he had to pay to the Inland Revenue authorities, explaining to them the reason for his gift to us. Many other members may not be able to afford to pay what would in this way amount to a double income tax, but there is a way in which everybody who pays income tax can help next month.

From June we shall all receive the benefit of the income tax deductions resulting from the recent Budget, and during June we will get a lump sum representing the difference between what we have paid at the old rate and what we should have paid at the new since Budget day. For most of us that will not amount to much, but if we all send in what we do receive in this way the PPU H.Q. Fund will benefit considerably. Of course if you could continue to pass on to H.Q. Fund every week or month the benefit you obtain by the reduction of income tax, so much the better!

We must pay for peace as we earn by the service we render in our spare time and by the contributions we make out of earned income, and there is this special way in which we can do the latter this month. Pay as you earn—Give what you save.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1959: £1,250.

Amount received to date: £392.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

importance, which has a significance far beyond the field of education—I mean desegregation in the schools—rates only 12 lines.

The report states that during the year, in accordance with the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 and 1955, an additional 75,000 white and 25,000 Negro pupils who had previously been in segregated schools were going to integrated schools.

This brought the total of previously segregated pupils attending integrated schools to 2,000,000 white and 350,000 Negro children. By last September 740 school districts had begun or had completed de-segregation.

By June, 1957, "112 of the 202 tax-supported, formerly all-white colleges and universities in 12 of the 17 Southern States and the District of Columbia had opened their doors to Negroes and had enrolled about 2,000 Negro students."

The first sentence of the introduction to the report states that a "fundamental concept" of education in the USA is that "every person has an equal right to educational opportunities."

It is worth comparing this with the Supreme Court's ruling of May 17, 1954, outlawing segregation in the public schools. In unequivocal language the Court affirmed that "separate but equal" facilities are inherently unequal, and that to segregate a child on the basis of his race is to deny that child equal protection of the law.

## From rockets to harmony

NATIONALLY, no doubt, the Rev. Clifford Hill is best known as the author of "Black and White in Harmony," the book on race relations which appeared at the time of the Notting Hill race riots.

In his home borough of Tottenham (North London), however, he is gaining a reputation as the pacifist parson who wants to know how much radio-activity is to be found in London's food supplies.

He told his local Peace Pledge Union meeting recently that he once worked on guided missiles under a Ministry of Supply research department, but began to have doubts about his job and so found his way into the pacifist movement.

—Phyz

## On the frontier

By the Rev TOM WARDLE

WHEN I first saw it I thought it was too obviously a parody of "Land of Hope and Glory" or "God Save the Queen" to be serious. But no, there it was being distributed round the country's schools for our little tots to learn—"Let NATO grow in might, and put its foes to flight."

So the blasphemy has now become naked. Hymns, which are essentially praises or thanksgiving or aspirations, are addressed to God. To the extent that they are expressive of true piety they will laud Him and not man. This NATO "hymn" is a rather shame-faced bit of man-centred petitioning. It does not address God directly but somewhat doubtfully presumes "May God . . ."

The publication of this song came in the same week as the news that the level of radio-active materials loose in the atmosphere is a cause for more concern. How inapposite does the last couplet now seem. "Instead will spread across the skies, the shape of peace to come."

Spreading across the skies right now is a cloud of dangerous quality produced as much by the military preparations of NATO as by the enemy it seeks to put to flight.

One is reminded sharply of Isaiah's denunciation of the religion of his day, which had become a mere cult, cloaking the evil practices of state and people:

Bring no more vain oblations . . .  
When ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood.

Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil: Learn to do well.

As it happened, one of the hymns we sang the Sunday after NATO'S offering was announced, was also a hymn about peace, but what a different kind of hymn! It was that wonderful prayer by John Johns:

Come, kingdom of our God,  
Sweet reign of light and love,  
Shed peace and hope and joy abroad,  
And wisdom from above.

The second verse of that hymn begins, "Over our spirits first Extend thy healing reign." There is the fundamental recognition here that we who pray for peace also need the healing touch of God. Nothing of this of course in the NATO hymn.

While we may not live by the vision of the kingdom of God on earth, neverthe-

less it remains an abiding yearning. We ought not to confuse the idea of the kingdom of God with the idea of any particular kind of society. For my part the kingdom of God is already a present fact. It exists where men enter into a special kind of relationship with one another that proceeds from their relationship with God. There are many members of that kingdom, and they are not only those who say, "Lord Lord . . ." Yet there is still the dream of the day when all mankind will be united in that relationship. Whether it will come to pass is a matter on which it is profitless to speculate; certainly the cause of God does not depend upon it. Yet the hope, which is human enough, remains. . .

Soon may all tribes be blest  
With fruit from life's glad tree  
And in its shade like brothers rest,  
Sons of one family. . .

I wonder how often this hymn is sung at school assemblies!

## PLEA FOR JUSTICE

From SYBIL MORRISON.

MRS. G. G. COLEMAN, who is in Britain for a few weeks, spoke to the Central London Peace Pledge Union Group last week on the troubles in Central Africa.

Her passionate plea for help to remove the bitter injustices perpetrated against Africans in Nyasaland and the Rhodesias was extremely moving. It is her view that nothing can prevent the Africans from obtaining their freedom, "but," she said, "it is not when they will gain their freedom, but how."

It is true, she told us, that the African Congress is pledged to non-violence, but with the leaders all in prison and the less controlled elements in the community suffering from fear and frustration, the whole situation might develop into an even "bloodier Cyprus." Indeed, the peace of the whole world might well depend on the action of the British leaders to-day.

Negotiation instead of suppression is the most urgent need since though there is singularly little bitterness at present, the tension and urgency might bring a change at any moment.

Africans have never known the freedom that Britishers take for granted, and just because of that freedom the responsibility lies squarely with the British, "for," she said, "it is only the free man who can become a servant of humanity."

"The cause of world peace," she said, "may well be in our hands," and her call was a call to rededication to our pacifist work.

## Briefly

Oxfam's efforts to clothe refugees are to be featured in Pathe Cinema newsreel in about 500 cinemas.

Councillor George Deakin, former treasurer of the No Conscription Council, has died.

Roger Rawlinson, the "lone marcher" who appears in the opening of the Aldermaston March film, has written the Toldas Group's May Commentary on "Change of Opinion about the Bomb" (from 16 Harlech Road, Liverpool 23). The Toldas Group, which advocates unilateral abandonment of all armaments and calls for an active peacemaking policy, reports an increase of 30 members since March and has a present membership of 710.

The Yugoslav Government has decided to abolish the death penalty for all crimes, "except those against the State or security," and to replace hanging by shooting as the method of execution.

Greek officers are to be trained on missiles in Western Germany. They will then train Greek units equipped with US missiles.

The Indian Defence Minister has stated that Ordnance factories will undertake to produce spare parts for the automobile industry if orders are placed with them.

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## REFUGEES

**PACIFISTS ARE OFTEN ACCUSED** of only being interested in their own moral purity. This is one of the strongest charges that is made against the pacifists of the 1930s. They kept their hands clean, it is said, at the price of ignoring the victims of fascism.

Anybody who looks at the facts will see that this is untrue. To quote one example (as this issue is devoted to the refugee problem) pacifists in the 1930s were very concerned about the refugees from Nazi dictatorship. In 1938 this newspaper urged the Government to adopt the following programme:

- 1 Pressure on foreign Governments to remove restriction on emigration of those they then persecuted.
- 2 The issue of visas to all refugees.
- 3 Relaxation of the strict immigration conditions then prevailing.
- 4 Substantial state contributions to funds then being raised for the conveyance to, and the maintenance of, refugees in Britain.
- 5 The encouragement of the dominions, colonies and other countries to absorb the maximum number.
- 6 The assumption of full and immediate responsibility, as the Government of a civilised people, at whatever cost, for the victims of the new barbarism.

In order to make this programme a reality, the War Resisters' International suggested that pacifists should collectively give the guarantees that the Home Office demanded before refugees were allowed into the country.

★ ★

**A CONCERN OF THIS KIND** is not an accidental one on the part of pacifists. Pacifism is not to be confused with war resistance as it so often is. Pacifists do not only contract out of something nasty like war, they contract into something better, a more decent way of life.

Max Plowman expressed this point in an essay he wrote in 1939 (reprinted in "The Right to Live," published by Andrew Dakers Ltd.):

"The pacifist is not ignorant of the causes of war. The negation of war which he voices is not made in ignorance of the fact that socially he is responsible for a condition of society which is normally one of incipient war. . . The knowledgeable pacifist of to-day is fully aware of his social responsibility, and, paradoxically as it may sound, it is for that very reason that he sees the need of making pacifism socially effective.

"He does not try to absolve himself from the sins of society, indeed, he is not predominantly self-concerned; but what he is resolved upon is to change the direction of social activity so radically that the normal working of the social machine shall no longer grind those who serve it into the dust and ashes of war."

★ ★

**IN THE RESOLUTION** which made 1959 World Refugee Year, the United Nations Assembly said that the aims of the year were:

- 1 To focus interest on the refugee problem and to encourage additional financial contributions from Governments, Voluntary Agencies and the general public for its solution.
- 2 To encourage additional opportunities for permanent refugee solutions, through voluntary repatriation, resettlement or integration, on a purely humanitarian basis.

In this issue we have tried to give some idea of what the refugee problem is really like, both in terms of the numbers of refugees and the suffering and hardship involved. We hope that all pacifists will assist in the work of the Year. We can think of no better way of demonstrating, as did the pacifists of the 'thirties, the direct relevance of pacifism to the world we live in.

## Geneva and German reunification . . .

**LAST** week's plenary session debates in the Foreign Ministers' conference at Geneva were of the kind generally referred to in official communiqués in the words "the atmosphere throughout the discussions was friendly, and we have gained a thorough understanding of each other's viewpoints." In other words, everybody has repeated, at great length and more than once, what everybody else knew beforehand they would say, and nothing has happened to change anything whatever.

If something to justify a different kind of communiqué at the end of the present conference is now to happen, either the West or the Russians must take the first step towards breaking the "package proposals" open, and at the time this is written both sides are trying to manoeuvre the other side into taking that first step.

In this respect the series of private gatherings and social meetings of the Big Four in the absence of the two German delegations are important. As long as the Adenauer and Grotewohl representatives are present—facing each other in more absolute irreconcilability and with less realisation of world responsibilities than Messrs. Herter, Selwyn Lloyd and Gromyko (one has to be more doubtful about M. Couve de Murville)—no great measure of progress is to be expected.

What this amounts to is plain evidence of the near-impossibility of German reunification in the foreseeable future. And here the objective observer will pay attention to two facts which are generally disregarded.

### . . . false assumption

**I**N the West it is always taken for granted that the East Germans will throw off the Communist yoke at the first opportunity, and in support of this assumption much is made of the Berlin revolt and the flow of refugees.

But two other factors deserve equal consideration. One is that the Berlin revolt was mainly local, in the politically most advanced part of East Germany, by people with direct knowledge of the better conditions in the West.

The second is the change in the population pattern. The number of people in East Germany with any experience of personal freedom, of which there has been precious little since 1934, is steadily diminishing and cannot by this time be very large. Their ranks have been thinned out by all those who have escaped to the West, by old people dying off and middle-aged ones growing into old-age passivity, while all children coming to school age since 1945 have been progressively indoctrinated to become good Communists.

There will be more and more of these good young Communists by the time a peace treaty would be signed with a "freely elected German Government," after the reunification of the two Germanys, if the Western package proposals were, by some impossible chance, to leave the realm of fantasy and to become the basis of future fact.

It is too late to entertain ideas of single-step reunification for Germany. Civil war between East Germany and the Federal Republic can rank as a distinct possibility if this kind of unification were attempted, even if NATO and the Russians were magically to cease to be interested parties.

In one form or another the price for the imposition of unconditional surrender must now be paid. And not by one side only. It is that condition that has produced two Germanys instead of one as well as two Berlins, and turned the conclusion of a peace treaty with the ex-enemy into a series of problems instead of one.

## Auschwitz

**A** GROUP of architects met in Rome some weeks ago to try to formulate a design for a memorial to be erected on the site of the German concentration camp at Auschwitz. The theme of the memorial is "Never again Auschwitz."

This memorial was the theme of a recent article in the Daily Telegraph by Constantine Fitzgibbon. Mr. Fitzgibbon pointed out that the Russians must be supporting the erection of the memorial since Auschwitz is in Polish territory.

He suggested the Russians must have sinister motives for this since they have no great dislike for concentration camps which are even now to be found in Russia. Their motive is that they want to create a hatred of Western Germany and so weaken the democratic alliance. For the same reason they support the anti-nuclear weapons campaigns in the West. We must not be bamboozled by the Russian propaganda, he argues. If we weaken our defences and allow the Russians to invade this country they would soon set up concentration camps here.

Mr. Fitzgibbon's points are all established by speculation and innuendo. To take only one example, if Mr. Fitzgibbon thinks that Communists support the anti-nuclear weapons campaign, how does he explain

the cool way with which the Communist Party received the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain? Or the fact that the Communist Party has never declared itself in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament?

Mr. Fitzgibbon's moral focus also seems to have gone curiously astray. He seems to suggest that to avoid concentration camps in Britain we should be prepared to use weapons which would make Auschwitz seem like a children's tea party.

Mr. Fitzgibbon is, of course, right that we should never forget Auschwitz. It seems a pity, however, to recall it with a nasty, Communist smear article of this kind.

## Cannibalism

**A** GROUP of hillmen last week raided the village of Matuari, in the primitive Upper Purari area of Papua, and killed and ate the village policeman. At once we are forcefully reminded of the very different values and behaviour of peoples in the world.

Cannibalism is, of course, rapidly disappearing; even in Papua it was the first reported case for almost three years. But it is an extreme example of behaviour which concerns us all very much.

Here are people whose customs are quite different to those traditionally associated with the Western world. It is quite clear that if people are to live peaceably together on this earth (and today there is no alternative) then they must share certain common values. Those who are concerned for peace must therefore be concerned to create the social change which moulds the conditions largely determining social values.

Already there is a great reluctance on the part of many "civilised" people to kill each other. Tremendous propaganda is required by governments to take their subjects to war. This is especially true when the "enemy" has a similar culture or values. Opponents must always be depicted by governments as sub-human (the Yellow Peril, the Wops, the Chinks and other beasts).

There is no doubt that markedly dissimilar peoples kill each other more readily. It was no accident that Eastern Mongols were moved into Hungary to undertake the brutal suppression of the revolt in 1956; or that towards the end of World War I the French put North African troops into the front line against the Germans.

We have to try to move towards a common language of values in which war resistance tomorrow becomes as natural as abhorrence of cannibalism is to most people today.

In this respect the last 50 years have seen disastrous set-backs. Two world wars and hundreds of other brutal struggles have demonstrated repeated willingness to resort to atrocities not so far removed from cannibalism.

The Nazis systematically liquidated peoples and conducted unspeakable experiments on their living bodies. Atomic bombs were dropped on Japan. People were burned alive by jellied petrol in Korea. In Kenya British troops were offered five shillings for each African head during the height of the emergency. In Cyprus the military admitted they resorted to torture. Today in Algeria electricity is pumped through the bodies of victims.

This is war, and until we can build up massive resistance to such inhumanity our sense of outrage at cannibalism will spring more from tradition than from insight.

## Mr. Dulles

**W**HEN the late John Foster Dulles was forced by ill-health to resign his post as US Secretary of State, we commented that this marked the end of a phase. His six years of office marked the final collapse in world politics of the policy of "negotiation from strength"—which was a cardinal principle of Mr. Dulles.

It would perhaps be unkind to the memory of the late Secretary of State to publish so soon after his death on Sunday a fuller critical appraisal of his term at the State Department. We hope to return to the subject at a later date.

For the moment we would make only one observation—more in sorrow than in anger. Many public tributes have been paid this week throughout the world, and in most of these special mention has been made of Mr. Dulles' many fine personal qualities. It is these that prompt our present silence, for it is not pleasant to criticise in such circumstances. But it is a terrible indictment of the demands of cold war politics that a man's personal qualities should be so flagrantly contradicted by his foreign policies.

IN PERSPECTIVE

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## Hope lies in Christian citizenship

THE British Council of Churches report shows, it seems to me, the great difficulty inherent in any Church pronouncement about modern war and the use of nuclear and atomic weapons in such a war.

Yet many people are always looking to the Church for a clear-cut pronouncement that they may be guided in conscience about this terribly difficult situation. In particular, perhaps, they look to the Catholic Church and the Pope—some hoping for and expecting an absolute condemnation of the use in warfare of these weapons; others, perhaps, hoping to ease the burden of their own consciences by putting the responsibility for their use in certain circumstances onto ecclesiastical authority.

The British Council of Churches has certainly shown courage, if not wisdom, in taking a definite stand, and one which corresponds roughly with what, I imagine, would be a majority view among thoughtful Christians to-day who are not pacifists and hold by the view that the nations of the West must remain indefinitely in a position to defend themselves by the possession of nuclear weapons as a deterrent against their use by the Communist dictatorships.

In doing so, however, the British Council of Churches has been forced to take a political stand, as well as a moral one, and it is difficult to see by what precise authority it does this.

### Fear—the real cause?

After all, any Christian is perfectly entitled as a Christian to take the view that fear is the real cause of Communist aggression to-day. He is perfectly entitled to hold that the Communists have nothing to gain by launching any sort of war against the peoples of the free world whose passive resistance would set insoluble problems to the aggressor; that detestation of tyranny in the satellite countries and even perhaps in Russia itself may be such as to make any Communist aggressive war the one real chance of the overthrow of Communism; that the real battle today is on the social and economic plane rather than on the political and military.

Such views as these are just as likely to be politically sound as the official view that the future of mankind rests on the power of the free world to retaliate by weapons as ghastly as the Communists threaten to use.

By Count Michael de la Bedoyere

One may believe all this, and yet not be a pacifist in the sense of holding that there is no conceivable circumstance in which military action may be justified.

For my part, I would suggest that pacifism, as a minority position, is becoming less relevant rather than more relevant to the international situation. When war becomes suicidal, then every man of common sense must be utterly "anti-war," even though he may hold that military resistance is under certain hypothetic conditions morally justifiable.

Despite the desire of many for a Catholic Papal pronouncement of condemnation of nuclear, atomic and chemical warfare so absolute and so clear that it would involve every good Catholic not only in refusing ever to be involved personally in such warfare, but even to be involved in the present manufacture of the weapons involved, it seems to me that the Catholic Church has been wiser than the British Council of Churches in doing all it can to further the limitation and ultimately suppression of these evil methods of warfare.

### What Christians could do

If Christians everywhere did all they possibly could to promote this moral end and, as *political citizens*, supported policies which would make these weapons in effect useless, the Catholic and Christian witness would be powerful indeed.

For example, if they pressed politically for a policy which would use the money now spent on the manufacture of evil weapons of war on helping the under-developed nations, it might well be that the

moral strength of the West would leave Communism looking foolish in possessing no better self-defence than suicidal weapons.

It is this kind of constructive outlook on the part of Christians, as political citizens guided by Christian moral principles, which will alter the moral climate of the world today. Certainly, it will do so far more effectively than any formal condemnation is likely to do. We have got to find the right positive and constructive answer, guided by our Christian principles, rather than to seek to escape from our responsibilities by negative condemnations.

But the Church—at least the Catholic Church—cannot take responsibility for political lines of actions. It is the Catholic citizen who must use his political intelligence enlightened by the Christian teaching and spiritual values which derive from the Church.

### More enlightenment

That is why I welcome the proposal made by Archbishop Roberts (Peace News, May 8) that the coming General Council should devote itself to the "issues of survival and salvation," seeking thus a preliminary and highly practical sense of religious unity through the joint study of the question by Catholics, Protestants and other world religious views and experiences.

The ordinary Christian citizen, whether a political or intellectual leader with influence or an ordinary citizen with no greater pretension than to register his vote and talk to his neighbours, needs a great deal more enlightenment about the spiritual, moral and technical issues involved in the present



Michael de la Bedoyere

unprecedented world set-up. The lack of this is certainly one of the chief reasons why the Christian citizen today is for the most part content to be instructed by his newspaper, his political Party, or his atavistic prejudices, instead of by his conscience as a Christian.

However this be, it seems to me (writing, of course, for myself and not presuming to speak on behalf of other Catholics, still less any Catholic authority) that the really constructive hope for the future lies, not in negative ecclesiastical condemnations, still less in any line of ecclesiastical politics, but in awakening the Christian citizen to his full dual responsibility as a Christian and as a free citizen. Today, alas, we seem very far from a proper concept of Christian citizenship where the problems of the world, not least those of war and peace, are concerned.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### 'Christians and Atomic War'

MUCH fuss has been made about the statement of the British Council of Churches. I suggest the effect of this has been to pay it an unnecessary compliment, for to object is to invest the report with an importance it in no way merits; though the World Council of Churches is recognised by its constituent bodies, the BCC represents no one.

As for the report in question, even the Church Times (which represents the conservative and establishment wing of Anglo-Catholicism) dismissed it as "adding nothing to Christian thought on the subject."

Please in future ignore the irresponsible outpouring of such entirely unrepresentative "Christian authorities" whose conclusions stem neither from canon law nor canon writ; and whose deliberations are guided neither by a spirit of prayer, nor from the grace of the sacraments.

Too much emphasis is put in the radical Press on the views of belicose Churchmen; I suggest that it might be better to examine the other side of the picture.—LAURENS OTTER, Rocklands, Attleborough, Norfolk.

### CND and Geneva

THE visit of the joint Anglo-German nuclear disarmament student delegation to the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference indicates the relevance of the Conference to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. German nuclear disarmament represents an indispensable and primary practical step towards any settlement in Europe and is therefore of major importance to all those committed to nuclear disarmament.

The delegation's activities are significant in two respects: first, we found common ground in a joint statement on nuclear disarmament within a very short time of our first meeting, and second, we formed the only group on the periphery of the Conference who put their views boldly and energetically to the Conference delegations of the Four Powers and the East and West German delegations, and in interviews with the Press.

The joint statement called for a Germany

free of nuclear weapons in which East and West would assume diplomatic relations; the freezing of nuclear weapons in NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries, leading to disengagement and German reunification; the conclusion of a nuclear weapons tests agreement; and the evolution of NATO in which Britain, having renounced her own nuclear weapons, would join such powers as Canada and the Scandinavian countries to act as intermediaries in liaison and negotiation between the USSR and the USA. The statement did not regard these proposals as inseparable, and saw German nuclear disarmament as immediately practicable and indispensable to genuine reunification.

One very tangible result of co-operation with the German students is our resolution to convene an International Student Conference on Nuclear Disarmament in the spring of next year. Already a working committee has been formed to make arrangements for the Conference, and it is hoped that it will join hands with Dutch, French and Norwegian students in choosing a site for the Conference.—MICHAEL H. CRAFT, JILL HARRINGTON, BILL LIDDELL, 77d Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E.1.

### Village campaign

IN the project "Disarmament in the Villages" (PN. May 1) we are concentrating our energies entirely upon Yorkshire—and maybe Lincs.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War are going to push hard in every possible way round here now that we have our own rocket bases in East Yorks. I have decided to throw all the available forces into the area and I think we can help to make the issue very potent here. A CND and DAC picket on the gates of the Brighton base has started, continuing through to the vigil which should begin (round the clock) on about July 1, preparing for a large CND demonstration at the base on July 5. While this is a development of the Hull CND Group's, I shall be organising the picket, and need volunteers for any length of time to get in touch with me at this address. It is a difficult place to get to, near Bubwith, four miles from the

nearest station (North Howden, on Leeds-Hull line). There are vague bus services from York and Selby. I shall be in the area in a caravan, and we should soon have one or two more of these and accommodation for a good number of picketers.

The "Walk," which will now be largely motorised as we want to cover an area rather than a route, starts from Selby market place on June 6 at 3.0 p.m., when the CND are holding a poster demonstration. We will be in the Brighton area for a few days and then move away, to return for the vigil. Although I shall be arranging the pickets at the same time I want to emphasise that this Village Campaign will be more than a CND thing. We will be trying to talk about pacifism just as much as ND, and need help in this aspect more than in the other. People on the Village Campaign will not be obliged to take part in the other at all, but I think that it will be very valuable to work in the rocket area nevertheless.

We need picketers, village campaigners, cars to pull caravans, suitable leaflets and posters and exhibitions, and money! The Village Campaign goes on to September.—FRANK W. HENY, 261 Woodlea Grove, Leeds 11.

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*"Scarcely a decade has passed without Quakers answering the call of distressed people in one or other part of the world."*

## QUAKER RELIEF DOWN THE CENTURIES

From a Special Correspondent.

QUAKER concern for distress goes back to the origins of the Society of Friends in Seventeenth Century England; but in the earliest period the intense persecution to which Quakers were subject confined their efforts to the succouring of their own brethren, reflected in the name which still describes their executive committee: the Meeting for Sufferings. Even in the Seventeenth Century, however, they looked beyond seas, spending large sums to assist and ransom those Friends who were held captive in Algeria by the Barbary pirates.

To help your own people is one thing; but to help those who have no claim on you but common humanity is another. Early in the Eighteenth Century Quakers took their share in sheltering the French Protestant refugees fleeing from the *dragonnades* of Louis XIV. One of these refugees, taken as a child from France through England to America, was Anthony Benezet, that great American Quaker and friend of the negro slaves; and to him we owe the first example of help to refugees in the modern sense. During the war between England and France in 1755, three shiploads of neutral French settlers in Nova Scotia (the "Acadians") were deported, as potential "fifth columnists," to Pennsylvania. Benezet organised help for them, and built cabins to shelter them on Pine Street in Philadelphia.

### No distinction

The next important piece of Quaker service of this kind was also American. During the siege of Boston in the American revolution in 1774, Quakers raised large sums for "the relief of the necessitous of every religious denomination," and when the British evacuated the town, went from house to house aiding all in need "without distinction of sects and parties." "It hath been a sort of school to us," said one of them; and the lessons have never been forgotten.

During the Napoleonic wars an unofficial Quaker committee headed by the scientist Luke Howard (father of meteorology) and the chemist William Allen (of Allen and Hanbury's) raised money both for British

prisoners in France, for French prisoners in England, and for the suffering population in Germany. It was William Allen who, in 1812, first put into words the Quaker principle: "On occasions of public calamity Friends' post must be the care of the poor and the relief of distress."

From that time on the principle has been constantly invoked. In 1824 it was the victims of Rhine floods; from 1821-9 and again in 1832, refugees in the Greek Islands; in 1833 settlers on the Donauisles whose harvests had failed; in 1838 (for the first of many occasions) the "natives of India, dying by thousands in the western parts of Bengal." On many such occasions the help given was simply in the form of money; but over the Indian famine, public meetings were held under the auspices of the Aborigines Protection Society, to make known the causes and prevent a recurrence of the disaster.

The terrible Irish potato famine of 1846-7 represents a new landmark; for not only were large sums involved (£200,000) but the money was disbursed under the personal supervision of Quakers, headed by W. E. Forster and James Hack Tuke, and elaborate records were kept, and subsequently published, of the measures they took, in loving co-operation with the Roman Catholic clergy, for relief, employment and emigration.

In 1857 it was the turn of Finland; this time an act of reparation for the action of the British Fleet, which during the Crimean war ravaged the coast of Finland; the great Joseph Sturge of Birmingham and Thomas Harvey of Leeds took clothes, food, provision for shelter, fishing nets and seed corn to the Gulf of Bothnia.

### Quaker star

But it was in 1871 that there first came into being the Friends War Victims' Relief Committee, and its symbol—the Quaker star (originally devised by a journalist administering funds collected for the victims of the Franco-Prussian war by the Daily News of London, and borrowed by the Quakers on the suggestion of the British Ambassador in Brussels, Savile Lumley).

The Quakers worked on this occasion through "commissioners"—both men and women—acting with local committees, and using modern methods (for instance, a steam plough, and a "garden village" settlement of wooden huts for refugees, built with their own labour under expert supervision). In this campaign many of the best workers were non-Quakers, notably Dr. William Norcott and Robert Long.

Since that time scarcely a decade has passed without Quakers answering the call of distressed people in one or other part of the world: Bulgaria in 1876; Russia in the famine of 1891-3, and again in 1907, and again in 1916 and after the First World War; India in a whole series of famines, but especially that which desolated the Central Provinces in 1899-1900; South Africa during the Boer War in 1901; the Balkans again during the war of 1912-13: the terrible

running wound of human suffering is never staunch.

The work done in France and other European countries during the 1914-18 war is still a vivid memory to many Quakers and pacifists alive today. The Quaker star was brought out again, and the War Victims Relief Committee reconstituted; and once more Quakers and non-Quakers worked side by side to help "without distinction of sects and parties" and races and creeds.

The American Friends Service Committee was set up in 1917, and the partnership with British Quakers begun then has deepened during the ensuing years. According to one historian, between the years 1914 and 1923 some 3,000 relief workers (British, American and of other nationalities) were engaged in a relief undertaking of a total estimated value of £10,000,000.

### Medical aid

The troubled between-war years brought new demands. Medical work was continued in Russia until 1928, while from 1924-9 medical and welfare work for Greek refugees from Asia Minor was carried out near Salonica. In Germany Quakers helped to break the blockade, and in Vienna they were the hub of the organisation which saved a whole generation of Austrian children.

The mid-1930s saw the setting up of the Germany Emergency Committee which later became the Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens, whose work for refugees seeking haven in Britain went on throughout the last war. Austria, Czechoslovakia and Spain were also the scene of Quaker relief projects during the stormy 1930s.

Roger C. Wilson, the present chairman of the Friends Service Council, has described the many undertakings of Friends Relief Service from 1940 to 1948 in his "Quaker Relief" (Allen & Unwin, 15s.). The work done in Britain during the actual war years was mainly in evacuation schemes and in welfare work among old people and young children; but three months before hostilities in Europe had ceased the first Quaker relief team to go abroad was on its way to Belgium, where they spent two months—mostly occupied with the consequences of the V-1 attacks on Antwerp. In April, 1945, the 21st Army Group captured Belsen; and six days later the Quaker team, along with a Red Cross and Girl Guides team, were at their work of rescue in the camp. By 1946 some 180 Quaker workers were in various parts of Europe, 120 of them in Germany alone.

### New emergencies

In 1948 the Friends Service Council took over the residue of FRS's commitments in Europe, and some of the work taken over then is still part of FSC's programme today. In the intervening years, however, there have been new emergencies and new demands. In 1953 a Quaker Unit went out to Korea and served there for more than four years. In 1956 the fact that there was a Quaker International Centre in Vienna

enabled Friends from many parts of the world to plunge into relief work immediately the Hungarian crisis arose. And in the summer of 1958 the disturbances in Lebanon prompted Lebanese Quakers to embark on relief work for needy children, to the cost of which FSC contributes.

Characteristic of Quaker relief work in recent years is the refugee employment programme in Germany. When FSC first joined forces with the International Rescue Committee in this work they were told by camp officials that the refugees would not be interested in the prospect of work; that they were lazy, apathetic after long years of idleness, and often medically unfit. But the Quaker workers persevered in spite of the difficulties, and by the time FSC withdrew in March, 1959, about 2,460 refugees had been helped to make a new beginning in life.

With the advent of World Refugee Year, the FSC decided to embark on a similar refugee employment project in the Linz area of Austria. It seems likely that the project will necessitate the Quaker team's sending certain refugees to training courses to fit them for the specific jobs available. Even skilled workers, out of touch with their old trade or craft for many years, will probably need a period of retraining.

### Continuing work

Although the Linz project has been launched as a special contribution to World Refugee Year, FSC's other refugee work will continue. One Quaker worker in Germany will continue the camp visitation and refugee counselling she has been doing for the past nine years; the Quaker rest home at Bad Pyrmont will continue to provide a brief respite from camp life for refugees in desperate need of rest and tranquillity; and the Quaker Centre in Paris will continue its counselling service for refugees who do not qualify for help from other organisations. In Vienna the international Quaker team is now engaged in the resettlement of Hungarian refugees who are resolved to settle in Austria, and FSC contributes to the cost of the work, as it does to the cost of the work being done by Lebanese Friends among refugees in Lebanon.

American Quakers, no less than British and Continental Quakers, have been subject to the demands of emergency and disaster through the years. As their particular contribution to World Refugee Year they hope to launch a community service project among Chinese refugees in Hong Kong—either by setting up a day nursery for the children of working mothers or a vocational training school for boys and girls in their teens.

### Memorial Service for Will Hayes

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PHOTO: CAMPBELL HAYS.

Quaker relief among Arab refugees in the Gaza Strip.



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## DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.  
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)

**Monday, May 25 to Sunday, May 31**  
**Glasgow, C.5:** 2.30-11 p.m. 41 Bedford St. Nuclear Disarmament Exhibition. Film "Children of Hiroshima." Sunday at 7 p.m.

**Friday, May 29**  
**ALTON:** 7.30 p.m. "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill. Discussion on organising Non-Violent Resistance. Young Peacekeepers.

**BRADFORD:** 7.30 p.m. Talbot Hotel. Brains Trust—John Braine, Rev. J. G. Hobbs, Coun. John Senior, Dr. Moller, Chair: Bernard Doyle. CND.

**BRISTOL:** 1. 2 p.m. Board Room, Gaunts House, Denmark St. CO Tribunal.

**COVENTRY:** 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Hill St. Dr. Don Arnott, Pat Arrowsmith, E. A. Roberts, Gordon Schaffer. CND.

**LONDON, W.1:** 7.30 p.m. Partisan Coffee Ho., 7 Carlisle St. "The Challenge of African Nationalism." Alao Bashorum. Labour Pacifist Fellowship.

**SWANSEA:** 10.30 a.m. Committee Room 5, The Guildhall. CO Tribunal.

**Saturday, May 30**  
**ILFORD:** 3 p.m. Lambourne Room, Town Hall. "After Aldermaston—Which Way to Peace?" Rev. Michael Scott, Ernie Roberts. Chair: Ken Shepherd. Ilford Peace Movement.

**LIVERPOOL:** 8 p.m. 3A Courtney Rd., Waterloo, Crosby. Michael Wormold "Reflections on Aldermaston." PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 4 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq. Open Discussion on "Pacifists and the General Election." Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ.

**Monday, June 1**  
**LEEDS:** 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane. Jon Hanneson (Icelandic National Defence Party). West Riding PYAG.

**Tuesday, June 2**  
**LONDON, S.W.1:** 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, Caxton St. "Any Questions?"—a follow-up of May 5 "Is Peace Possible" meeting; Prof. Penrose, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison, J. Allen Skinner.

**Wednesday, June 3**  
**CHINGFORD:** 8 p.m. Mornington Hall, Ted Bedford, Martin Dakin, John Horner. CND.

**LONDON, S.W.13:** 8 p.m. Kitson Hall, Barnes. Dr. Don Arnott, John Berger, Diana Collins. CND.

**Thursday, June 4**  
**HEREFORD:** 8 p.m. Town Hall. Kingsley Martin "Nuclear Weapons—the Choice for Mankind." CND.

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bushwood. Speaker: Walter Hall. PPU.

**Friday, June 5**  
**BRISTOL:** 7 p.m. 20 Glenwood Rd., off Lake. Henleaze. Group Mtg. PPU.

**HULL:** 7.30 p.m. 6 Bond St., Discussion "The Political Implications of Pacifism." PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.2:** 8 p.m. St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Sq. London International Choir Concert. Conductor: Paul Steinitz. Collection for IVS.

**LONDON, N.22:** 8 p.m. Trinity Grammar School Hall, Bounds Green Rd. "Can Politicians Keep the Peace?"—Brains Trust. Michael Skudder (Lab.), David Penwarden (Lib.), Allen Skinner, Arlo Tatum. Chair: Sybil Morrison. PPU.

**OXFORD:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., St. Giles. Discussion on "Nuclear Disarmament." Henry Osborne, MP and David Price, MP. Chair: Colin Leys. CND.

**Saturday, June 6**  
**LONDON, W.1:** 2.15-6.45 p.m. New Chiltern Rooms, 108 Baker St. Conf. "Central Africa: The Right & Wrongs of Federation." J. P. G. Duncan (UFP Member Fed. Parl. for Salisbury Dist.), W. M. K. Chiume (Member Nyasaland Legislature and officer Nyasaland African Congress). United World Trust.

**LONDON, W.C.2:** 2.30 p.m. Kingsway Hall (Room 32) Symposium. "The Causes of War." Prof. T. H. Pear, Lucy Mair, Dr. Alex Comfort, followed by business meeting. Medical Assoc. for the Prevention of War.

**Monday, June 8**  
**BIRMINGHAM:** 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Mtg. of Kings Heath & Cotteridge PPU.

**Tuesday, June 9**  
**ROMFORD:** 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Victoria Rd., Sybil Morrison "Pacifism in the Nuclear Age." PPU.

**Wednesday, June 10**  
**DUNMOW:** 7.30 p.m. Foakes Hall, 3rd Annual Film Show "The Choice of a Lifetime." Refreshments. Women's Crusade Against the H-bomb.

**WEMBLEY:** 8 p.m. Brotherhood Hall (adjacent GPO), High Rd. Prof. Rotblat, Ted Mackenzie. Film Show including Aldermaston March 1958. CND.

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**SUNDAYS**  
**BRADFORD:** 8 p.m. Hall Ings Car Park. Open Air Mtg. Bradford PYAG.

**GLASGOW:** Sundays 8 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd., Open Air Forum; PPU.

**LONDON:** 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner Pacifist Forum, PYAG.

**SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS**  
**LONDON:** 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

**TUESDAYS**  
**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

**WEDNESDAYS**  
**LONDON, N.4:** 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

## At a glance

Sidney Russell, warden of Kingsley Hall, Dagenham, and well known for his pacifist activity in the district, has been made a Freeman of the Borough.

Dr. Alex Comfort is to open the discussion at a Symposium on the causes of war when the Medical Association for the Prevention of War meets in Kingsway Hall, London, on June 6 at 2.30 p.m. Prof. T. H. Pear will speak on social and cultural factors and Dr. Lucy Mair on inter-racial friction.

## WORLD REFUGEE YEAR

# "Exposed to destitution"

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

WE reach out to the moon, and we have not learned yet how to live together on earth.

At the moment I am not thinking of our wars and preparations for wars. I am not thinking of our occupations of other peoples' territories or of apartheid and colour bars. These are the most grievous signs of our inability to live as a human family. I'm thinking of three million unwanted people who have been driven from their homelands or who have fled from them to escape persecution. I'm thinking of the world's refugees.

There are more than three million: 250,000 in Europe, 915,000 Palestinian Arabs, 700,000 Chinese in Hong Kong, 200,000 Algerians in Tunis and Morocco, thousands in Korea, Formosa, Vietnam and West Bengal. They exist, often half-starved, in refugee camps or in shantytowns of their own making, destitute and forgotten.

I don't propose to discuss the political background of their tragic position. Some were driven from the eastern lands of Germany when they were annexed by Poland at the end of the war. Many have taken refuge from conditions which they found intolerable in Communist East Germany or Communist China. The Palestinian refugees fled from Israel, the victims of the disastrous Jewish-Arab conflict. The Algerians are the victims of the French war on the independence of their country.

## Continuing misery

In some cases we may be critical of the politics of the refugees; sometimes we shall be sympathetic. I shall not differentiate. We are all human beings, and none of us can be happy at the thought of the continuing misery of these peoples, especially the innocent, neglected children. All of us will want to give them the opportunity to adjust themselves to a new life of security and promise in tolerant communities.

It is appalling that fourteen years after the conclusion of the Second World War 50,000 human beings should still be in the refugee camps in Western Germany and that 200,000 should still be officially described as "exposed to destitution," that is to say, without any security of employment and un-integrated in any community.

The refugee camps are welcomed by refugees as temporary asylums from escapes from persecution; but they are humanly intolerable for long-term life. Bare floors, walls and tables, gravel and mud, food institutionally distributed, hard beds and bunks; all hygienic, efficiently organised, but distant from anything like home or social "belonging." Sometimes the refugees are in them for years before passing on to the prospects of Canada or other Utopias.

## Vested interest

One thinks of those Palestinian refugees. A vested interest has almost arisen in their permanence. It is a tragedy to me that Israel, built largely (and marvellously) on refugees from the ghastly Nazi terror, should have some responsibility for creating another refugee problem; but the Arab countries have also exploited the Palestinian refugee camps for the political condemnation of the Jews and have shown no haste to re-settle inhabitants. Meanwhile, nearly a million victims persist in a vacuum of unsocial squalor year after year.

There are the 700,000 Chinese refugees in Hong Kong, so over-crowded that they have actually created squatter camps on the roofs of the city, the children, underfed and diseased, playing among stray dogs and dust.

There are 200,000 Algerians, driven from their villages by French occupation forces, scraping an existence from inadequate charity in the deserts of Morocco and Tunisia, the old and the ill and babies dying, the children doomed by rickets and the diseases of sub-nutrition.

A mass of suffering, scattered over the world, by man's inhumanity to man!



What are we doing about all this? In December, 1950, the United Nations established a Commission for Refugees. There is also a separate Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees. They do good work. It is difficult to contemplate what would have been the condition of thousands of men, women and children without their aid. The Palestinian refugees would have starved.

## New towns

Constructive work, as well as relief, has been done. I have seen, both at the House of Commons and in my constituency, the film depicting not only the grim conditions in the European camps, but the new towns which have been built by the refugees themselves. The Commission has also untied many of the legal knots which have made difficult the settlement of refugees in new countries.

But, at the end of it all, how inadequate has been the aid provided by Governments through the United Nations! Recently I asked in the House of Commons for particulars of the British donations. They amount to £2 millions a year, compared with the £1,500 millions a year which we spend on war preparations, and a donation of £100,000 towards the World Refugee Year. And among all the Governments the British contribution is second only to the American! The indifference of Governments is shocking. Voluntary effort is now endeavouring to make up for this failure. This June the World Refugee Year begins. It is a great international effort to raise sufficient funds to reach definite targets.

In the first place there is the aim to re-settle the 50,000 refugees who remain in European camps and to re-settle them in normal conditions in welcoming countries. Secondly, it is hoped to take positive action towards a permanent solution by resettlement of the two largest international problems: the Arab refugees on the borders of Palestine and the Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. Thirdly, it is hoped to re-settle Russian and European refugees in China.

## Welcoming countries

If British people are to meet their proportion of the fund needed, every family must contribute three shillings. I doubt if any voluntary fund has reached that figure, but goodwill is abundant and determination can achieve it.

I find encouragement in my constituency, where the churches, in a preliminary effort, set out to raise £500 in a week. They reached £670.

Those who wish to help should write to the United Nations Association, 25 Charles Street, London, W.1.

Some of my readers, because of their interest in colonial liberty, will particularly want to assist the Algerian Refugees. They can send donations to the Algerian Red Crescent through the Movement for Colonial Freedom, 374 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

Money is not enough. Personal service is necessary. I should like to see the youth of the world volunteering for a period of international service for world betterment, including reconstruction work for the refugees.

In Britain we shall be ending military conscription for youth next year. There has been one attraction about conscription; it has enabled young men to travel to distant places, though their duties have often been objectionable. It would be a fine alternative if they could travel abroad in the service of construction, happiness and life.

The United Nations Association organises temporary Work Camps. The International Voluntary Service, whose headquarters are at 72, Oakley Square, London, N.W.1, has more sustained schemes. I commend both.

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PEACE NEWS, May 29, 1959—7

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## MEETINGS

**MIDLANDS CONFERENCE FOR PEACE**—Birmingham and Midland Inst., Sat., June 6, 2.30-8 p.m. Prof. J. D. Bernal FRS (author "World Without War") and Mr. Ernie Roberts. AM interested Midlands organisations and individuals cordially invited. Delegates / Observers 2s. 6d. Visitors 1s. Particulars from C. King, 131 Withnall Rd., Solihull, Warks., or Tel. B'ham South 3020.

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## ONE-MAN WALK TO DORTMUND

Peace News Reporter

THE German Embassy in London's Belgrave Square will be picketed tomorrow (Saturday) between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. by supporters of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War (STA 7062). Their action will be in support of Herbert Compton who set out from London on May 2 in a 300-mile protest march to the Dortmund rocket base. There he was expected to be leading a non-violent obstruction demonstration tomorrow at one of the gates to the base.

He left Belgium this week where he had appeared on TV and been featured in the Press. Latest news is that Continental war-resisters have started to join his march.

# War Challenges Christians PEACE RALLY PACKS ALBERT HALL

ALMOST all the British daily papers completely ignored a crowded public meeting in London on Monday evening which presented modern war as a challenge to Christians.

The News Chronicle ran a short notice, the Daily Express a far shorter one, and the rest of the national Press said nothing.

The meeting was held in the Royal Albert Hall, which has a seating capacity of 7,500. It was the largest Christian peace meeting in Britain since the 1930s, and was sponsored jointly by Christian Action and the Friends' Peace Committee (Quakers).

Constance Willis reports:

Amongst those present on the supporting platform were The Bishop of London, The Dean of Westminster, and Canon Roy McKay (head of BBC Religious Broadcasting).

Many messages were received, including those from Dr. Albert Schweitzer, Dr. J. L. Hromadka (of Prague), Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, and Lewis Mumford (of the USA), and the Japan Council against A- and H-bombs.

Speaking on "Some Applications of

Love," Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale said: "Our democratic principles, our right to worship as we will, have been preserved for us in this country not by military power but by the faithfulness of individuals, some of them exceptional people, but others quite ordinary folk who were not afraid of anything but doing wrong; we must spread this kind of fearlessness..."

"What we must not believe is that we could ever be left with no choice except between the warping of our children's minds by atheistic indoctrination on the one hand and the twisting of their bodies and souls by war and by training for war on the other."

Dr. Gruber (Dean of Berlin) warned all nations that "to take the wrong road again would lead to complete disaster."

"We who have been in Hitler's prisons and concentration camps believe we have more right to speak than Germans who remained either silent or Hitler's faithful minions. Unlike them, we are aware of our guilt."

"In wartime BBC broadcasts we often heard the word which gladdened all of us who stood against Hitler—'re-education.' This seemed to us most important—the re-education of the German people. But what has happened to the re-education we were to have? I see only re-armament."

### The consequences

The Bishop of Southwark (The Rt. Rev. Mervyn Stockwood) spoke on "The Choice for the Nation." Stating that he was not a pacifist, he said: "I could never assent to being a party to a nuclear war because the consequences would violate my basic religious convictions."

"Suppose we committed ourselves to abolishing nuclear weapons and, as a result, are invaded and dominated, a position which must be honestly faced by those of us who are opposed to nuclear arms? I don't minimise the horror, but, much as I should dislike it, it makes no difference to my basic conviction."

"Moreover, I am not unmindful of the fact that in Russia itself after 40 years of Communism the Church still survives and perhaps is a stronger and nobler Church than before the Revolution. To people who

fear that Russian invasion would mean the end of Christianity I say 'O ye of little faith!'"

Victor Gollancz, the last speaker, had as his theme: "The Personal Challenge." "A qualified Christian ethic," he said, "is a contradiction in terms."

The application of the Gospel of Christ would not permit of any war, or flogging, or hanging.

A collection of over £850 was taken.

Father Trevor Huddleston and Dr. Harold Roberts (principal of Richmond College) also spoke.

### FEDERATION

A Central African MP, Mr. J. P. G. Duncan, and a member of the African Congress, Mr. W. M. K. Chiume, will be speakers at a National Peace Council conference on the rights and wrongs of federation on June 6 from 2.15 to 6.45 in the New Chiltern Rooms, 108 Baker Street, W.1. Admission is by ticket from the NPC, 21 Gt. James Street, W.C.1.

## Air raid drill boycott: 17 sentenced

SEVENTEEN Americans were recently sentenced to 10 days in jail or a \$25 fine for refusing to take shelter during New York State's Civil Defence air raid drill.

Their civil disobedience was prompted by the recognition that "there is no defence against nuclear attack except peace."

Those who had broken the law for the first time were given suspended sentences. Dorothy Day, Ammon Hennacy, Deane Mowrer and Karl Meyer from the Catholic Worker, and Arthur Harvey had all broken this law on previous occasions and refused to pay the fine. They went to jail.

About 50 men, women and children picketed the Women's House of Detention each day for two hours where Dorothy Day was being held and distributed leaflets explaining the action.

In Haverstraw, New York, Vera Williams, artist for the independent US monthly "Liberation," and Ruth Best, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, were arrested for refusing to take shelter and for distributing anti-war leaflets.

In Philadelphia 27 members of Peacemakers handed out leaflets calling for non-violence in human relations, and were unmolested by the authorities.

indeed within the pacifist movement, are convinced that peace can be secured by the abandonment of particular weapons, when all that is really meant is that a certain security against war may be achieved by these means.

It seems, therefore, of paramount importance to go beyond "convictions held" in a search for the truth of peace. Clearly peace is not merely a temporary cessation of war, or threats of war; agreements to reduce armaments or abandon some weapons while keeping others cannot be called peace; even the promise of personal security if it is backed by the threat of force cannot be called peace.

If "the dignity of men and their brotherhood under God" means anything at all it means the individual right to live in harmony and concord and tranquility of spirit; it means tolerance and understanding and reconciliation. If peace means anything at all it must mean this and more; it must mean the establishment of trust and goodwill as a basis of living, and the belief and faith that good must prevail.

Search for the truth of peace is, perhaps, more important than all the different convictions as to the right way in which peace should be pursued; as these different ways are followed, the search for truth must go on at the same time, for the life of the human race may depend upon its discovery.

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This is how Yorkshire's leading evening paper last week headlined the new actions developing against war preparations in the county. The picture shows local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament members picketing a missile base they have discovered under construction at Brighton, nearly 30 miles East of Leeds. The Leeds and District CND has 550 members. Picket organiser Frank Henry writes to the Editor on page five.

"PEACE" has for too long been a misused word, and it is the difference in interpretation that makes the pacifist crusade for peace so dauntingly difficult.

There are those who believe that peace means no war while still holding in reserve every possible weapon for ultimate use in what is supposed to be national interest. There are those who believe peace is to be equated with an armistice, or a mere cessation of fighting; others who are confident that peace means successful military alliances, or judgment and voting at the United Nations.

Mr. Macmillan recently announced that the H-bomb had kept the peace for 10 years; obviously he was thinking of peace in terms only of avoidance of a major

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**IN PEACE NEWS NEXT WEEK**

## By Sybil Morrison THE TRUTH OF PEACE

John Foster Dulles is dead. A lifetime of labour for peace is ended. . . . Because he believed in the dignity of men and in their brotherhood under God, he was an ardent supporter of their deepest hopes and aspirations.—President Eisenhower, May 24, 1959.  
Truth is always more than a conviction held. . . —March Cost, A Woman of Letters.

world war, and seemed to have overlooked Korea, Malaya, Indo-China, Indonesia, not to mention Kenya and Cyprus and Suez.

No doubt Mr. Dulles' "labours for peace" were based on that outmoded conviction, held by Churchill and Eden, as well as Macmillan, that peace could be found through military strength. Pacifists have spent many words, and much time, pointing out that "peace through strength" meant nothing but maintaining strength, and that each extra bit of strength achieved by the "enemy" must necessarily be met by more strength, and more strength, until either there was a war, or a precarious deadlock.

This fact was finally made clear by the move at the 1955 "Summit" meeting, away from "peace through strength" to "peace through stalemate." The conclusion came to was that no one would dare break it, and the Foreign Minister arrived back in this country bawling a new slogan: "There ain't gonna be no war," and giving the

false impression that peace had been secured.

Now that this stalemate has at last brought the Foreign Ministers into conference, the peoples of the nations involved are alternately hopeful, or despairing, that some security will be achieved by agreements about weapons. "Security" and "peace," in fact, have come to mean the same to the majority of ordinary people today, and that is why they support the policy of attempting to secure immunity from war by means of producing bigger and better instruments for blowing the world to pieces.

Those who go to conferences for the purpose of coming to agreements about man-power and weapons are looked upon as people who "labour for peace," and, in fact, these words could be used in Russia about Khrushchov with the same conviction of truth as Eisenhower has used them about Mr. Dulles.

Many perfectly sincere people within the political parties, within the Churches, and